1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

There are no special privileges attached to a position in the higher classes. Nor is a more courteous language used towards higher-class persons, except that the *sangyangs* have a right to the title of *de* (perhaps an abbreviation of *gĕde*).[6] Members of each class have their own places of burial in specified graveyards divided into a right-hand (eastern) and a left-hand (western) series on either side of the eastern gate; the division, however, does not correspond completely to that of the classes into *panĕngĕn* and *pĕngiwa*.

The *sangyangs* and *prajurits* are not allowed to eat millet, cane sugar, or bread-fruit, nor may they kill turtle-doves or two kinds of salt-water fish or cut *pungut* trees. In a land like Bali, with its far-going subdivision in classes and castes, the number of such prohibitions is countless, since every group has its own. The explanation usually given is that members of a certain class or caste have an obligation to the prohibited animal or plant because of a service it had rendered an ancestor.[7] In the case of Tĕnganan this is true of the two kinds of fish, which are considered as the defenders of the Tĕngananese coast.[8] However, the turtle-dove is prohibited because Batara Indra assumed the shape of that bird in order to travel swiftly from Jambudwipa (India) to Bali, while the prohibited plants mentioned served as food for him, and the *pungut* tree as a resting place.

It is not prohibited for men to marry women of a higher class, but such marriages are usually frowned upon; especially the choice of a wife from one of the *sangyang* groups by a man of a lower class is looked upon as ill-fated, since such people die an early death. In case of such mixed marriages the wife joins the class of her husband and is also buried in the graveyard of his class, while the children, too, follow their father's class. However, such mixed marriages never lead to a breaking of ties with her family or a loss of family rights.

In the period before the twentieth century the *sangyang* and *ijĕng* groups were exempt from services to the ruler.

The second method of dividing the population, according to age and marital status, is related to some extent to the division into

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

732 561 classes. From the very outset the second division is of no significance to persons whose bodies are deformed in any way (*chedangga*), that is to say those who have festers under the nails,[9] crooked arms,[10] a big toe that is twisted back,[11] poor sight or blindness,[12] goitre,[13] or similar physical defects. They are not considered as persons to be despised, but are viewed as unsuitable for the service of the gods, and hence for that of the *desa*. They must be distinguished from the persons with certain specific contagious diseases who are banished from the village.

852 561 562 At his birth the new citizen of Tĕnganan is, like his mother, impure. He may not go to the northwestern bathing place with his mother until his ears have been pierced. The rituals of piercing his ears, cutting his hair, and filing his teeth, each of them accompanied by the presentation of offerings, gradually make him fit to begin participating in the public life of the *desa*, which takes place around his seventh year. At that time he joins together with several other boys of the same age in the fifth month, Kalima, and from then until the eighth month, Kaulu, the months when most offerings are made, they help the boys' associations with their work in connection with the festivities. In Kaulu this initial period comes to an end, and the group chooses officers. The next year, in Karo or Katiga, the second and third month, the group goes on an expedition every third night to one of the temples in the *desa* territory, beginning with the *pura puséh* and ending with Chandi Dasa. On such expeditions the boys, with a small creese in their girdles, must take care that other people do not detect them on their way to the temple and back, and they quickly hide whenever someone is approaching. If a person does catch sight of the children he pretends not to have seen them and softly mumbles a prayer that they may finish their expedition undisturbed. During their pious travels they pray to the deity that they may be able to conclude their apprenticeship at their *guru*'s without interruption and that they may become familiar with *adat* and *agama*. On a favourable day in Kaulu, the eighth month, they go to live for a year in their *guru*'s house. On first entering the house they make an offering at the door.

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

The boys are actually only called *tĕruna nyoman* once their parents have taken offerings to the *guru*. The *guru* and the pupils fan the offerings while reciting a prayer, then the pupils eat the remains of the offerings. After this prayer the *guru* and the members of the three older boys' associations take the *tĕrunas nyoman* to meet the village girls for the first time. Beforehand they prepare betel and the accompanying requisites, sugar, salt, and fruits to present to the girls. (It should be pointed out that the activities of all the *tĕruna* associations consist to a large extent in forming bonds of friendship with the girls.) On this first visit the young boys must be hidden from the eyes of the girls and may not be seen by anyone on the street except the other *tĕrunas*. The visit takes place in the evening, and when the boys leave their *guru*'s home a little house plaited of split bamboo and open only at the bottom is shoved close to the compound gate. The boys scurry under it and the *pĕngawins*, the boys who were *tĕrunas nyoman* the time before, carry the house slowly while the boys of the new group walk along inside it.

The members of the girls' associations sit arranged around their officers in the *bale buga* of each group's meeting place, with the lamp, the deity, above them. They are clad in their meeting costumes, a long striped red sarong and a *gĕringsing* breastcloth, and welcome the procession with a pleasant smile. The *guru* and the *pĕngawins* declare in ornate language that the juvenile section of the Tĕngananese youth has come to pay its respects. The *tĕrunas nyoman* themselves may not laugh or make a sound.

The *pĕngawins* have beforehand taken a supply of mud to each *subak*. While the girls recite secret incantations each of the *pĕngawins* in turn tosses handfuls of mud towards the girls' officers in an underarm movement with the left hand from a distance of two fathoms. This mudslinging goes on as long as the girls continue reciting. It is forbidden to hit higher than the shoulder or to strike the lamp, and violations are fined, but the ceremony has degenerated into an occasion to tease the girls, and little attention is paid to the prohibitions: the most fun of all is to throw the lamp out. This ceremony is repeated in each of the three *subaks*,

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

852 and is held again on two favourable days in the latter half of the
●561 same month.

562 The next month, Kasanga, the three girls' associations pay a counter-visit, bringing gifts to the house of the *guru* of the *tĕrunas nyoman*, each association on its own day. These ceremonial visits back and forth are then repeated at set times.

[554] The *tĕrunas nyoman* continue to live with their *guru* for a year,
86 passing the night in his *bale buga*. His instruction includes *adat*,
561 religious stipulations, and secret incantations that may not be
562 revealed to anyone from outside the *desa* or set down in writing.
875 But also ordinary school subjects such as reading, arithmetic, and knowledge of the *kidungs*, Old Javanese writings, and chronology are taught, in as far as the *guru* has the knowledge to teach them.

[593] The parents do not have to pay any expenses or school fees for this stay at the *guru*'s house, and are only responsible for providing the boys with food. The boys themselves, however, have to spend
[431] quite a bit on gifts for the girls, so that at the beginning of the period they need to borrow money, to be repaid by the year's end. Consequently the pupils spend their free time doing all sorts of odd jobs for money to be saved in their treasury. At the end of the period they use this money to pay their debts, and the surplus is divided equally.

During their apprenticeship the *tĕrunas nyoman* must follow their *guru*'s commands and the constitution of their association strictly. The latter describes some of the boys' obligations – for example they must stand watch at their *guru*'s house, armed with a creese and a blowpipe, they must set his betel ready and go with him to the bathing place, and they must accompany the village girls on their processions. And it lists certain regulations regarding propriety in clothing, speech, and behaviour. They may not enter the *guru*'s sleeping place, visit their parents' home without permission, nor return to the *guru*'s dwelling after midnight. They are also prohibited to cross the Buhu River during their apprenticeship. Violations are punished by a warning or a fine of thirty-three, sixty-six, or a hundred doits. Three warnings are followed by a fine of thirty-three doits.

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

575 The *desa* members, the core villagers, are further distinguished according to the length of their membership. The most recent *desa* members are called *pĕngluduhan*, 'those who are charged'. They sit at the lower end in the *bale agung*. The next group consists of twelve *tambĕlapus*. Then come twelve *bahans*, of which the six eldest are the *klihans bahan*, the *desa* officials in charge of day-to-day affairs who meet every evening in the *bale agung* and hence are also called *klihans desa*. The following group is that of the *klihans luanan*, or *uluanan*, 'those sitting above'. There should be six such dignitaries, including the *subak* (the *de ngijĕng*), but since that post is vacant there are only five. These *klihans* are also called *kĕbayans desa*. There is a still older group, the *klihans gumi*, but they are no longer *desa* members. This group consists of the six oldest persons (counting from the beginning of their *desa* membership) in the village who had to leave the association because of the marriage of a child when they were of *bahan* rank or higher, and whose wives are still alive.

55 575 [587] If a person loses his *desa* membership because of the death of his wife he can only become a member again by marrying a girl who has not yet been married. In that case he regains his earlier place, and if that has moved forward in the *bale agung* he obtains a higher place, so that it sometimes happens that he skips over some ranks. However, it may be the case that when he regains his membership the number of places in the rank he should occupy are all filled, and in that case he has to wait for a vacancy.

561 562 769 This whole division of the population according to age and marital status corresponds to a division of the graveyards, which, as was pointed out, consist of an eastern and a western group, each of which is subdivided in a burial ground for children who have not yet lost their milk teeth, one for older children, and one for adults.

86 626 This structure of the population is of importance in two respects. There is perhaps no other *desa* on Bali where the individual is so much fitted into the village service from the cradle to the grave as in Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan. There are countless imperative and

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

prohibitive commandments to which the Tĕngananese is subject, and the violation of one of these regulations even in very early years has serious consequences for all of his later life. For a boy to be expelled from his association means that he cannot later become a member of the *desa*, in other words can never participate fully in religious ceremonies or obtain the customary right of disposal over five village *sawahs*. Walking through the village with a young Tĕngananese, one may suddenly hear him ask one to wait a moment until he has had his creese and sash fetched, for if he were to walk past his association *bale* without them it would cost him a fine of twenty-five hundred doits. The equivalent regulations for the *desa* members themselves are even stricter. They may not be found outside their *banjar* or the *desa* without a creese, outer garment, and sash. They have to have the permission of the village administration to go beyond the *desa* boundary. And they, their wives, and their children are prohibited from doing any number of things.

Yet to me this population structure seems even more striking as a remnant of an earlier social organization. This village where the men are exclusively tappers of palm wine and the women weavers of sacred fabrics is full of reminiscences of a totemistic clan structure such as Rassers has sketched in his various writings – a structure characterized by one single craft, totem animals, a division in left and right halves, clan temples, and initiation.[14]

After the above description of the young people's associations and the *desa* association a few further comments are necessary to complete this survey of the population of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan. The able-bodied men who are not members of the *desa* are called *gumis pulangan*. For village services only one *gumi pulangan* per 'kitchen', that is to say per compound, needs to report, even though there may be more able-bodied men living in the compound. The male *desa* members plus the *gumis pulangan* are together called *tambunan gumi*. This group comes to a total of about a hundred men. The men in the village who are not able-bodied are called *gumi unggu*. A person is no longer able-bodied if he is not capable of using a hatchet. Such a person may not belong to

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

561 575 882 the core villagers or to a boys' association, though boys who are no longer able-bodied are considered as *palaks*. Able-bodied widowers are also called *gumis pulangan*, and are looked upon by the *desa* as a sort of reserve, since they can again become core villagers by remarrying if their second wife is a *dĕha*. This is perhaps the reason for the regulation that if possible widowers should continue living in separate compounds, and in fact are required to do so if they have a child. (If they are childless they may move into a compound with another family, the which is called *ngĕdis*, from *kĕdis*, 'bird'.) If a widower marries a widow he remains a *gumi pulangan*.

609 It goes without saying that in a village where strangers are looked at askance, immigrants are subject to any number of restrictions. They are relegated seventeen compounds in the *banjar* of Pande, though they may be permitted to use other compounds by way of favour. They are, of course, expected to provide the village with certain services, such as caring for the village orchestra, and must help with the religious services in their *banjar*.

567 There has never been slavery in Tĕnganan, though indenture for debt does exist. In this connection attention must be called to the blacksmith family from the *desa* of Tunggak (where it still has its place of burial). This smith, who came to Tĕnganan at the request of the *desa*, was given a loan of sixty thousand doits free of interest, to be paid back in instalments, but the loan is constantly renewed on payment of the last instalment. He works gratis for the *desa* whenever that is necessary.

566 Also in perpetual servitude to the *desa* are the so-called *panjaks desa*, including the village cleaners, the *yayas*. These *yayas* have a function in the *bale agung* similar to that exercised in the *desa* by the *kĕbayans tahak*.[15] These *kĕbayans tahak*, now consisting of fourteen families, may not become members of the *desa* association. Two of them do take part in the meeting in the *bale agung* as *yayas*, but they sit at the very lowest end, below the *pĕngluduhans*, the newest *desa* members. It is the task of the *kĕbayans tahak* to keep the village territory clean. If corpses of people or dogs are found and no one admits that they belong to him, they must see

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

Bateson puts it, the *Barong* clears space.[8] He is thought of as King of the Demons, and he alone can keep them under control.

Witchlike spirits (*léjak*), on the other hand, are under the power of the Queen of the Witches, *Rangda*, another sacred mask, which is played by one man. In the temples this mask is often set up on or near a shrine, is given offerings, and if someone goes into trance may be put on and danced as a godly impersonation of this Evil Female. Late at night she will call her "followers," the *léjaks*, who come at her bidding to perform all sorts of horrors, dig up corpses, eat babies, bring pestilence and famine to the village. Only by propitiating her—and perhaps the enacting of the part serves as an acknowledgement of her power—can these evil and more earthly powers be held in check.

The Balinese dramatize these two aggressive and destructive forces, that of the rough, greedy, quarrelsome demons and that of the uncanny, devouring, deathly *léjaks*, by the mask play in which the *Barong* and *Rangda* appear as antagonists. The battle is enacted and reenacted. No one ever wins. What happens is that dozens of villagers, aroused by the excitement held incarnate in these two figures and by the stylized interplay between them, go into trance, go through patterned behavior in a somnambulistic state, attack the Witch with their krisses, are revived by the *Barong*, attack their own chests with their krisses, and preferably work themselves to a climax, a true convulsive seizure of hysterical order. After such a performance everyone goes home feeling perfectly great and at peace with the world.

There can be no doubt that certain tensions and anxieties set up in the Balinese by the restraints, the fears, and the general inhibitory patterning of their emotional life are relieved by these outbursts.[9] Bateson and Mead in their analysis of Balinese character go a step further, relating the specific trance performances described here to early child training, seeing in the *Barong* a father image, in the *Rangda* the image of the teasing, unsatisfying mother, and in the convulsive seizure a repetition of infantile tantrums. Their theory is open to challenge if it is seen as offering the key to the whole of Balinese character structure. In any case, we can bear it in mind for it is certainly thought provoking, though not likely to be understood by those without some training in psychoanalytic theory as well as in cultural anthropology.

Age Grading. The division into age grades is not that frequently found in primitive societies but tends to be rather as follows.

[8] Bateson and Mead, 1942, p. 188.
[9] Belo, 1935, pp. 143-144.

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

1. Infants. New born infants are regarded as close to the gods, and there is no special differentiation as to sex. All children up to the age of losing their first teeth, *tonden meketoes*, are thought of in this particularly holy category.

2. Children. Small men, *anak tjenik*, are children of any age up until they reach the age and maturity to be able to take on adult's work.

3. Men and Women. Adolescence is institutionalized in some of the old style villages, where the *troena*, virgin boys, and *daha*, virgin girls, have a specific role to play in ritual, but on the whole this distinction has dropped out of the organization of the usual village. Boys and adult men and old men perform the same function in ceremonial, classed under the heading of males, *anak moewani;* young girls and matrons and old crones dance in the same temple dances and prepare the same offerings, under the heading of females, *anak loeh*.

4. Old People. Only the very old, those who are too old to work, to serve as the head of the household in the case of a man, are spoken of as grandfather, *pekak*, or grandmother, *dadong*. The toothless old are thought of as near to small children, and the transition through death and disintegration and back into life again in the form of a new babe is a conception readily acceptable and universally held. The great difference from the Hinduistic orthodox position is that the Balinese as a people do not believe that a soul may be reborn into any but its own ancestral line: it must return within the family, and this precludes the notion of being reborn into a higher caste.

The absence of particularly marked puberty rites, initiation ceremonies and the like, such as are common in the whole of southeast Asia at a more primitive level of development, is of special interest for the reason that rites reminiscent of Borneo and New Guinea are still to be found in some old style villages (Troenjan or Trunyan,[1] for example, or again, Tenganan Pagringsingan[2]). In the more developed, more typical Balinese village the line is not drawn between young folk and older people on the point of virginity, for in fact premarital unions are the rule, and very often a marriage is not celebrated until the girl is pregnant. The ability to bear a child, preferably a son, is in this fashion assured. Whether marriages are arranged or are love matches, the change of status from unmarried to married is marked by the carrying off of the bride (*ngerorod*), a pattern which has come down from the past, actually an enactment of marriage by capture. Like our custom of carrying a bride over a doorstep, or of throwing rice at the bridal pair, the customs persist in the folk ways though their meaning has, to a

[1] Spies, 1933.
[2] Korn, 1933.

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
OF7 Bali OF7

of this pain-word seems to satisfy the oppressor, who desists. I never witnessed nor heard of a case where one small boy "beat up" another. Certainly the hierarchy of ages recognized in any family group tends to discourage fighting, for every child knows that he is allowed to "speak down to," scold, and order about his younger brothers and cousins, just as he himself is spoken down to and ordered about by brothers and all relatives older than he. The system works smoothly, for if one is humiliated by an elder, one may take out one's venom on a younger member of the familiar group. The accumulation of ill-humor does not fall too heavily upon the youngest child, for he can always take refuge behind the protective skirts of the mother, who is older, and therefore in authority, over his oppressor. So are the scales balanced.

Very small girls are sometimes seen in the company of the boys who play in the streets. But by the time the girls reach the age of responsibility—seven or eight—they are more apt to remain in the housecourt with the mother, taking a part in her work. Or if they are seen along the road, they carry on their hip a younger child entrusted to their care.[4] These diminutive nursemaids saunter up and down, or stand watching the play of the boys, prevented from joining in the activity by the responsibility, and the actual weight of their charges. Girls do not play games, for gambling is a man's occupation. Neither can they share in one of the boys' favorite diversions, that of drumming away for hours on the instruments of the village orchestra, which are generally left in an open pavilion accessible to the children. This is another occupation which belongs to the men. The girls stand by watching, and do not think of trying their hand at it, although they are not actually forbidden to do so. I have known one or two girls, dancers, who had developed quite a proficiency as musicians, but their cases were exceptional. In the same way girls are not expected to paint and draw. When I sent out a call to a number of villages for the drawings of children from four to ten years, and distributed materials sufficient for all, not a single girl sent in a drawing, nor would the little girls of my own village attempt any drawings even under repeated encouragement. Yet these same girls are learning from their mothers the complicated arts of making offerings, cutting designs from palm-leaf, and weaving.

[4] Boys also carry babies, without shame, in imitation of their fathers who habitually dandle the small children.

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
OF7 Bali OF7

and woman to be caused when the male organ finally achieves contact with the *manik*.[10]

Although a free display of the affection between the sexes, except in private, is forbidden, the Balinese have a strong tendency to hold on to and caress each other in all relations where no sexual connotation is implied. Fathers and mothers, grandfathers and grandmothers, love to fondle the young children, to press their faces into them and "sniff" them, just as in the relation between a man and a woman. Two girls, two boys, or two bearded ancients will stroll along a road holding hands, or with their arms about each other. Such gestures should not be misconstrued as evidences of homosexuality, for they are no more than the habitual expressions of a demonstratively affectionate people.

Manifestations of anger are remarked much less frequently than those of love, fear, and affection in the everyday life. An equable temper is certainly the characteristic one among the Balinese. If a man is easily angered, he is said to have *kapala angin*, a Malay expression meaning "a windy head." Although one often hears voices raised in explosive and admonitory speech, they can hardly be said to be expressing anger, for among the adults, as among the children, superiors have always the right to call down their inferiors, an elder brother to speak harshly to a younger, a man to "order" (never simply to ask) his wife to do something for him. Each Balinese is habituated to thinking of himself as relatively more or less powerful than all the other members of his familiar group. And if he is less powerful, he obeys naturally and usually without remonstrance. By contrast, in larger groups, such as communal organizations, whose members are on a less intimate footing with each other, great care is taken to preserve the equality between the members. Each man is reluctant to appear to be giving an order or dictating in any way to his social equal. For this reason, in any group of workers the man whom we would call the "foreman" seems always inefficient and lacking in administrative powers; and the resulting accomplish-

[10] The reproductive function of semen is not unknown to them, as is illustrated in the popular legend of the creation of Kala, to whom Civa gave birth alone, by producing a single drop of semen. The parallel with the *manik* idea is, however, interestingly carried out in the legend, for it is only on being repeatedly struck by the arrows of the gods that the drop of semen becomes alive, gets arms and legs, a head, genitals, etc., and finally stands up and shouts, a fully formed Kala. It is difficult to tell whether the theme of the repeated striking refers to the rhythmic motion of copulation, or to an idea that a single sexual act is not sufficient to cause the development of the embryo, and that the man must continue to "strike" during gestation, so that the child will grow.